



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

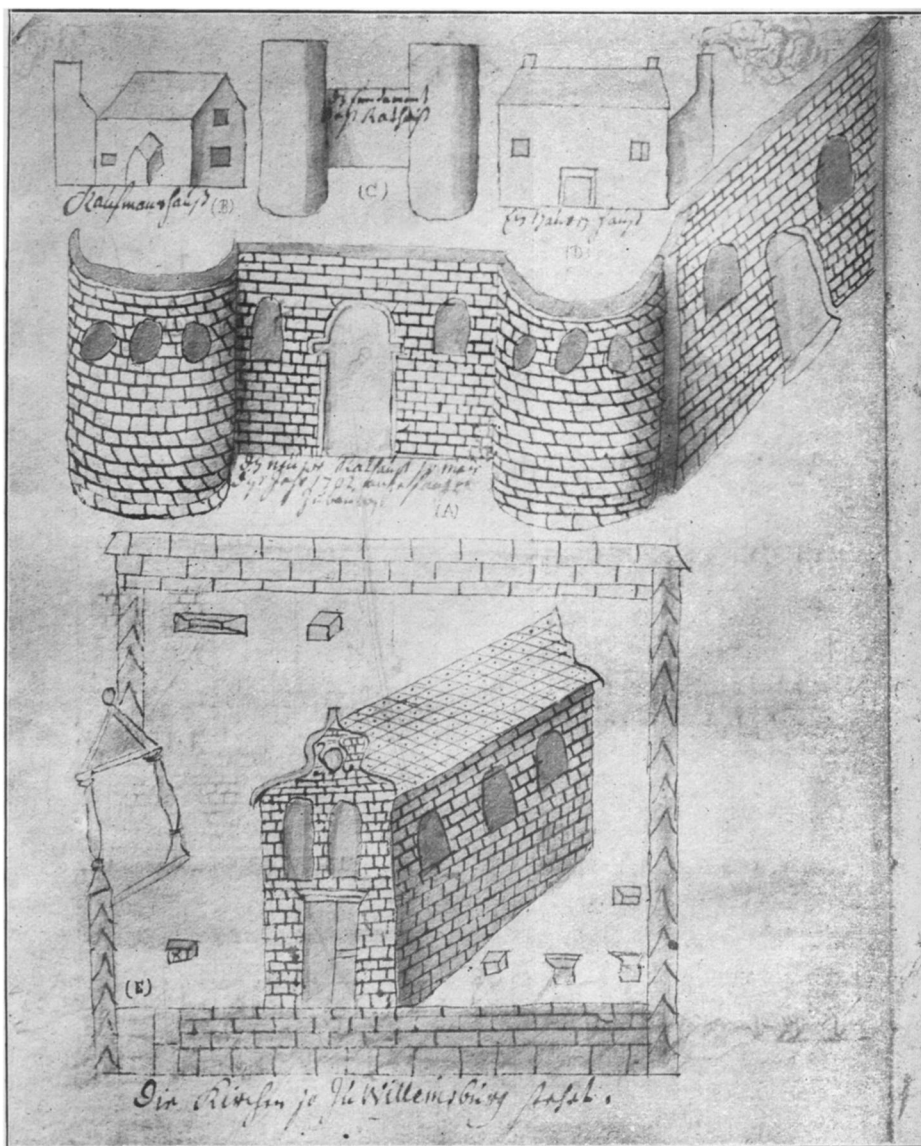
This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



# WILLIAMSBURG FROM MICHEL'S DRAWINGS.

- (A) The New Council House which they began building this year 1702; (B) Home of Merchant; (C) Foundation (ground plan) of Statehouse; (D) Farmer's house; (E) The church which stands at Williamsburg.

REPORT OF THE JOURNEY OF FRANCIS LOUIS MICHEL FROM  
BERNE, SWITZERLAND, TO VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 2,  
1701-DECEMBER 1, 1702.

---

Part III

---

Translated and edited by Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph. D.

After we had stayed there eight days in order to complete all our preparations, and had also taken water on board (namely twenty-two tons), we weighed anchor on a Sunday, at noon, while the weather was beautiful and a good but weak wind prevailed. We sailed that day a few miles down the Bay. At evening the sky was covered with very dark clouds towards the north. There was hardly time to take in the sails and drop the anchor. It is a dangerous place, because of a sand-bank which extends very far. There were only four fathoms of water where we were lying. The clouds scattered after a short rain, no dangerous storm having developed. On the following morning we came in time to the place of assembly, where we found most of the fleet together and ready to sail. We were almost the last. On our arrival we shot off six cannons, which was answered by the commander with one. It was a pleasure to see the large number of ships, namely 154 in number. After we had lain there a day and a half (about this time the wheat harvest as well as the summer fruit and peaches were past) the time appointed for the ships to assemble at Quikedam had come, when most of the ships were riding at anchor at the mouth of the Bay. The ship Nassau, together with others, was still up the river, but one Sunday it appeared and cast anchor before Yorktown.

As the time was up and I saw no possibility of traveling farther by land or water, because of the heat, and, as I also felt weak because of the many fatigues and thought the fever was

coming upon me, I concluded, as I was compelled to return, not to let this opportunity slip by. I had myself, therefore, first of all taken to Captain Schmid's ship, who had come back from Guine and was an honest man. He offered to take me to England free of charge, if I would agree to do guard duty like the others, who are relieved every four hours. But I was so weak that I could not accept this. He then said, if I would give him 40 shillings I would not be compelled to work, the ordinary charge is 60 shillings. However, I did not accept, because it was a little ship, having every place filled with tobacco to such an extent, that there was no place of shelter in case of rain. Moreover, I rather preferred to go to my old captain [of the Nassau], who showed me much kindness at all times and all of whose sailors I knew. Besides, the doctor, a Saxon, was my friend and the ship was better supplied with provisions than any other ship in the fleet. Experience confirmed this, because the other ships frequently sent for provisions from ours. In addition to the above mentioned reasons, I was induced to take passage on the ship Nassau, because Mr. Foes,<sup>(1)</sup> who several times showed me kindness in his home, was also a passenger, intending to take a journey to England. Hence I thought, if sickness should overtake me, I would be among people who would render me assistance.

When a good wind arose, the signal was given [to start] with a cannon shot and a blue flag, divided to the middle and running out into two points, which was fastened to a yard of the small mast. Before the ships could hoist their sails fully, the wind subsided again, hence they had to ride at anchor till the following morning, the 2nd of July, when they left with a good but weak wind. But the wind fell again, so that we with many other ships had to drop anchor. Before we had lain there an hour, the wind started once more from south-west. We hoisted our sails and commenced to advance rapidly. Thus far the Governor had accompanied us on a warship, which is ordered to stay in that country. To make my story short, we sailed successfully many a day until we struck a calm which lasted two days, while it was very hot. Then we had good wind again, but we

---

(1) For Rev. Stephen Fouace see MAGAZINE, XXIV, 23, Note 37.

ran too far south and lost it again by and by, for the farther north one gets, the more wind is met. On the return journey [to Europe] there is mostly good wind, so that the trip is commonly made within eight to ten weeks. During that time I had several attacks of fever, but it developed only twice. Meanwhile we sailed very successfully with beautiful weather. However, a Captain West, who commanded the ship *Bristol*, died. He had been on our ship four days before, because he was a good friend of our captain. It is customary when a captain dies to lower the flag at half-mast and to fire off two shots, a minute apart. The carpenter came to fetch a box from our ship in order to make a coffin. On the following day he was lowered into the ocean. The flags were hoisted as usual [at half mast]. All the captains who knew him gave each a salute of four shots, every minute a shot. After a large number of shots had thus been fired, the pilot, who took over the command in the captain's absence, expressed his thanks by firing all his cannons slowly in succession.

We had always beautiful sailing weather, so that the principal men visited each other almost daily. At such times they are treated lavishly and they spare neither wine nor strong drink, especially not punch, which I have already described. Englishmen pay much attention to good eating and drinking, but especially to meat. Our captain had fresh meat every day. There were about 45 pigs, small and large, on board of ship, one calf, three sheep, more than 20 turkeys and turkey hens, 14 geese and more than 100 roosters and chickens, nearly all of which were a present to him, except what Mr. Foes, the preacher, brought with him, who had taken along many fowls and much strong drink, of which many of us had a share. They slaughtered daily, but the meat could not be kept more than 24 hours, and had to be thrown into the sea frequently. On the return trip the common people had only water to drink, but it was good and of sufficient quantity. The food was very poor, because the heat spoiled that which had been salted and was more than a year old, and made it taste badly. In addition, our biscuit was full of worms, so that the smallest particle could not be broken

off without finding them in it. This caused a general and great longing for the land.

It happened once at night that a great noise arose. Shots of distress were heard and fire signals were seen. Then the fleet was ordered to stop, which order is given from the admiral's or commander's ship by firing off a certain number of shots and by fire signals. Whatever wind may prevail (unless a storm is raging) the ships are turned against the wind, catching the wind with one sail and holding up the ship with another. As a result the ship hardly leaves its place. The ship often yields to such an extent that it rolls to and fro on its sides, as we did almost daily towards evening, when we waited for those in the rear. This is the most disagreeable thing about a fleet, because some of the ships are not well provided with sails, or otherwise sail poorly, hence there is constant waiting for them, and often the best time is lost.

Now to return to the noise. There was no ship which did not fire off several shots to signal to others. This continued throughout the night. They thought pirates had fallen upon the fleet. The war ships sailed back at once to the place of the fire signals, but they found that two ships had merely stuck to each other, being entangled in their ropes. The bowsprit, which extends forward, had become entangled, and through the action of the waves, the ships bumped together, so that they would have done great damage to each other, if others had not come to their rescue. Especially when a strong wind blows and when it is dark and stormy, there is great danger in a fleet, because the ships often come so close to each other that they frequently pass less than four feet from each other and thus cause great anxiety. Each ship has indeed from one to four lanterns, in each of which there are four or more lights. One of them they hung way up on the mast, which could be seen afar off. But the watch is often kept so poorly, that the ships run one against the other. Otherwise, during good sailing weather, none is allowed to give fire signals except the commander of the fleet, which is done every night at eight o'clock, with the firing off of a cannon. Whereupon all the bells are rung, which is pleasant to hear in quiet weather. By means of the fire the ship of

the commander can always be distinguished and the other ships can take their course accordingly. But if a ship tries to pass him, he orders a solid shot to be sent across its bow to make it stay back. These shots must be paid for as a fine. They are very expensive. But if the weather is gloomy, so that the light cannot be seen, the commander fires off a shot every minute. This could be clearly recognized by a broad, red flag, hung from the main mast, it being the highest. But if a long, blue flag could be seen, it meant to hoist more sails. Often as many as three different flags flew at the same time, each had its own meaning. The commander had a war ship of 70 pieces of cannon and wonderful sails, for he often sailed faster with half a sail than we with eight.

After we were about 1500 miles away from land, the water looked as blue and clear as the sky, so that we could often see things moving in the depth. Experienced seamen said, they were fish at a depth of perhaps a mile. In this region we amused ourselves with fishing. There are in that neighborhood a large number of flying fish which follow the ships. They have an enemy, named dolphin by the English. It is one of the best fish, often twenty pounds in weight. These fish do not swim deep in the water, but on top. When the flying fish notices that his enemy is after him, he flies up from the water, often a distance of two gun shots. This he repeats, when he does not feel secure. They often fly in shoals. It happened once that one flew against our sail and fell down on the ship. We took him and put him in vinegar and thus kept him a long time. It is a fish like a herring, with two long, pointed wings, not of feathers, but like the tail and side fins. When one throws out a line and hook, the dolphin is at once there and swallows the bait. All the ships caught many of these fish for two weeks. Most of them were speared with harpoons. These were seven foot poles, below with five hooklike points, above balanced with lead and tied to a rope. The fish swim on the surface of the water, close to the ships, so that they can be hit easily. They are like salmon, blue on top. We were surprized at some land birds, which had doubtless gone astray. They came to rest on the masts, following the ships for a great distance. Pigeons

had been taken along on the ocean. They were let go and often flew away to a great distance, but they did not fail to return to their cote. Much weed, coming up from the bottom, was swimming there on the water. We saw also a large turtle lying asleep on the water, but, as the sea was stormy, we could not take it. Thus far we sailed successfully, but did not see a single strange ship, except one that came from Barbados, laden with sugar.

We reached safely the 47th degree, where we had a favorable wind again for several days. But there were many signs of a storm. Towards midnight the sky turned all yellow and red. There were also sufficient signs in the air for the seamen. But especially the porpoises showed themselves, which were regarded as an infallible storm sign. On the 2nd of September we saw a dull sky and the wind began to blow from the south with such force that only the foresails could be used. But all this was nothing compared with what happened on the 3rd of September, old style. I cannot possibly describe our condition and the terror of death at that time. When day was breaking, the wind increased to such an extent that we all feared a disaster. The fleet at once scattered, that we might not be hurled against each other to our destruction. The weather was dreary and black. The wind took the water and drove it along like clouds and fog. The waves rose to such a height and broke down upon us with such a roar that it was terrifying to behold. The wind also howled awfully through the masts and sails. That, however, was like nothing. But when the storm tore the sail away and the helm or rudder refused to work, so that the ship was laid over on one side, and was thrown about from one side to the other, then such a quantity of water dashed over and into the ship that, when they tried to pump it out and wanted to work, it was impossible to stand upright, and they had to hold fast to the ropes, that the water and wind might not sweep them out. The greatest terror was caused by the fact that, when they measured how much water was in the ship, they found that there were already five feet in the tobacco room, as the color of the water soon showed, for when it was pumped out it was all



yellow from the tobacco. In addition, the conner(2) announced the bad news that there was a hole in the ship! Truly, hope for our rescue was small at that time, even among the most experienced. Death was depicted upon the faces. Everyone moaned so that it was pitiful to hear. Whatever was not well tied or nailed down, was partly thrown into the ocean, partly broken to pieces, for nothing of such things was safe. The greatest damage was done when one of the highest waves broke down upon the ship from behind, injured the stern and knocked out the windows above and below. It dashed over the upper part of the ship, knocked down the captain and the physician, who were on the quarter deck, then it covered us on the main deck to such an extent that we could hardly bear the weight of the water and thought nothing else but that we were all drowned. At the same time the cry was raised that we should run to the cannons, fire off two shots, hoist our flag at half mast and thus signal our distress. But we saw none to help us, nor would it have been possible at such a time. When the storm had raged for four hours, it began to clear a little. The sun came out and the merciless wind subsided slightly. But then the waves began to rise still higher, that one's hair stood on end, so to speak. However, we succeeded so far that we were able to hoist half of another sail, in order to let the ship run before the wind. We also made every effort to pump out the water as best we could. We succeeded so far that it did not increase, and then we began to have some hope. The captain and Mr. Foes distributed brandy and strong ale to encourage the people. It helped not a little. We all worked till evening to hoist up the tobacco and to let down pumps with chains, which was our salvation. Afterwards four pumps could be used. Before night a ship came near to offer assistance, which we needed much. On account of the high seas we could not approach each other. But they promised through the speaking trumpet to keep us company during the night, which made us happy. During the night we had a fairly good rest, except the work of pumping out the water, as the ship was leaking very much. In the

---

(2) A conner, spelled "coner" in the original, is one who gives steering directions to the helmsman of a ship.

morning of the 4th [of September] we saw no fleet [at first], but soon there was a call from the mast that about 90 ships were in sight.

Shortly afterwards the fleet was seen, but not as strong as before. More than twenty ships were missing. We did not know what had become of them or whether they had been lost. At one time we saw much woodwork and many barrels floating on the water. We learned that we were not the only ones that had suffered damage, for there were four other ships ready to sink. Our captain had himself at once taken to the commander to make known his distress and ask for help. He told him that others had been with him for the same reason and that he had given up everybody whom he could spare. But he sent his carpenter along. He nailed lead, prepared for that purpose, over the hole. Nevertheless, we had to work day and night to pump out the water. Double rations were distributed from now on till we reached England, because we had to pump so hard and incessantly day and night. This fear did us more harm than death itself, for it was a slow death and we felt it for some time afterwards. At that time every one would have given all he had if he could have been on land, and I thought I would never venture into such danger again, but I soon forgot it.

After the storm was over, we were yet 900 miles from land. But following it we had for two weeks good weather till about the 18th, when we struck ground at 89 fathoms, which made us glad. After another day of sailing we met again very boisterous, stormy weather. We were not a little afraid at that time, because we were not far from land and the condition of our ship was very poor. We could not leave the pumps nor dry ourselves. We met also another ship, and passed each other so closely that we threw up our hands in fear, but we did not touch. Whoever has not experienced the terror of the water, can hardly believe what the feelings are. But finally we saw land, which was the Isle of Wight.

In this last storm one ship lost its mast. But a warship, four of which were with us, took this damaged ship in tow, but kept a great distance between them. It was towed to the land.

When we came into the Channel, we saw twelve sails or ships. We soon noticed that they were Dutch. They passed the island. The same day we arrived at Dunes [Downs], where we learned from a Dutch privateer that there was war between England, Holland and France.(3) It was said that Cadix [in Spain] was taken,(4) about which they rejoiced in vain. From there we came to Margate, and on the following day across the dangerous sandbanks, where the water was only 18 fathoms deep and the ship touched, so that the water became muddy. The captain was in fear, for if a ship strikes such a bank, the sand yields and in a short time the ship sinks. On the next day we came to Gravesend, whence I traveled by land to Poplar,(5) in order to deliver a letter to the wife of the captain. I cannot omit to make mention of the kindness which the captain showed me. He made known to me, through Mr. Foes and the physician, that, if I wanted to go to sea with him and keep book for him, he would give me daily half an English crown. I consented finally, but the constant traveling on the ocean did not suit me. Hence I thanked him and paid him, but he gave me back two crowns, because I had worked during the storms. At last he invited me to dinner and told me that he did not doubt but that I could travel safely. After I had stayed in London for several days, I handed over certain things to a Swiss, named Bornas, who was married to a woman by the name of Walther, to keep them for me till my return.

From there I went to Starwit [Harwich](6) by land, a distance of 66 miles, where I had to wait for a mail boat. I went to the commissioner, who gave me a passport, so that I could cross [the Channel] for nothing, except paying two shillings, one for the clerk, the other as a head tax. Otherwise one has to pay 14 shillings during war times. Those known to him can cross

(3) It was the war of the Spanish Succession.

(4) In 1702 a futile attack was made upon Cadiz by the British under Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormonde, but on October 12, 1702, a combined French-Spanish fleet was destroyed by the British at Vigo.

(5) Poplar, lying between Gravesend and London, can only be the metropolitan borough of London, bearing that name, three miles E. by S. of St. Paul's.

(6) Starwit is no doubt a misprint in the Berne Yearbook for Harwit, by which Harwich is intended, the well-known English seaport in the County of Essex, 70 miles northeast of London.

free of charge. In Briel is another commissioner, who gives passports to those who want to go to England. The Queen of England maintains six of these mail boats, which sail twice every week. They are built lightly and armed with only four to six cannons, but they are so well equipped with sails, that it is not easy to capture them.

October. We left with good wind, but when we wished to pass from the harbor into the ocean, we met the boat coming from Holland, which reported that there were enemies. Hence we stayed at a certain place till night. We were much troubled by the waves, because the ship was so small. I became sick, contrary to my expectations. We sailed very fast during the night, so that we saw land in the morning, and about ten o'clock we reached the Rhine, where we landed. The passengers and the mail were taken on land. We came to Briel, where I took some refreshments. On the same day, the 10th of October, we reached Rotterdam. From there I traveled with a Frenchman, named Jonget, whom I met at Harwitz [Harwich], to Nijmegen, hoping that we would find an opportunity there to continue our journey. We had to go by land, because the wind was too strong. We lodged on the other side of the river. We crossed over the pontoon-bridge, but we did not know how to get into the city. We tried the sentry, who asked whence we came. We answered, that we resided in the city. They let us pass. We went then to a Mr. Du Rang, a French minister, whom we asked for a certificate, which he did not refuse. We thought it was better than nothing. We then set out on the road to Wesel and from there to Duysburg. We were allowed to pass Wesel, but at the latter place we were led to the commandant. He remarked that we had no extra fine passport, but he allowed us to go on. A few days before, Rynberg [Rheinberg], which can be seen from here, had been bombarded by the Brandenburgers, but, according to their own statement, they had lost about a hundred men. Thence we proceeded to Dusseldorf. On the way, we met two Frenchmen, whom we asked whence they came. They said, they had intended to travel to Switzerland, but they had been stopped above Cologne. They had taken away their rifles and everyone wanted to harm

them, because they were not able to speak with the people. I tried to strengthen our company, hence I encouraged them to come with us, which they did. On the way to Cologne nothing happened to us, except that a soldier asked for our passports. I asked him to show us his authority for making such a demand. He finally withdrew. When we wanted to cross the Rhine at Mellen [Muelheim], (7) we had to wait there for a while. I went to an officer of the guard, who was stationed there. He told me of the double and even threefold danger of traveling, as daily unfortunate accidents were reported, on the one hand from the French, who make strong raids from Bonn, on the other hand the farmers in Bavaria and in the Spessart forest were very dangerous. Whenever they met a person, they would take his clothes and often his life. He counselled me especially not to travel with the Frenchmen, who were now much hated in that neighborhood, because during the past summer this district had been plundered by the French. This made me think. While we thus spoke together, there came twenty Switzers, among whom were several Germans from Leuk, of the Schartreuw(8). They had a passport from the English General Cut(9), as people who had left the service of the enemy. They also inquired about the way to Switzerland, which pleased me so much, that I made their acquaintance. Two of them were from the Canton of Berne. We stayed there overnight. During the night a party came into the house with great noise. We thought they were Frenchmen, but they were Hollanders. In the morning we set out on our way. It was very cold. We wanted to go to Bruggen [Brueck], a village about two hours [six miles] distant. Fortunately we lost our way. We met a driver who told us that a party was on guard

(7) In spite of the dissimilarity of the names, Muehlheim must be intended by Mellen. It is the only city between Cologne and Bonn which resembles Mellen in sound. Michel evidently spells the names phonetically.

(8) Leuk is probably Leukerbad, a famous watering place in the Canton of Valais, Switzerland, on the right bank of the Rhone. Schartreuw is probably the French word Chartreuse, the name of a Carthusian monastery.

(9) This is Baron John Cutts of Gowran, Ireland, 1661-1707, who accompanied Marlborough to Holland in 1701 and took part in the war of the Spanish Succession as lieutenant-general.

not far from Bruggen, on the great highroad. We thought we were betrayed, and turned, therefore, to the left into the forest. We wandered about till evening, when we met a farmers' guard of twenty men, provided with loaded rifles. They took us for an opposing party, aimed their rifles and waited for our arrival. We showed our passport. They demanded a sword from us, but we refused to give it. They did not dare to take it.

Then we came to Syberg [Siegburg], where an allied garrison, containing also Swiss, was stationed. The Governor did not want to allow us to stay overnight in the town. Hence we had to lodge in an inn before the gate. This place is about two hours distance from Bonn. We feared that night that they would come to take us prisoners. Some days before they had taken away a wagon with a horse at this same place. On the following day we continued our journey. We heard that four French companies were keeping guard on the great high-road in the forest. This was unwelcome news to us. We inquired whether we could not take a roundabout route. Yes, if we would make a detour of three days. The company was fearful that it would cost their life, if they should fall into the hands of the French. Hence we were shown the detour and we traveled through wild regions, already covered with snow, to Hagen, Siegen, Dillenburg, Wetzlar, where the imperial chamber meets. Thence to Freyburg, in the Breissgau(10), finally to Frankfort, where we were strictly examined. However, they did not ask for all our passports, but one was sufficient for us. The Germans stayed there and we were also offered positions. From there the rest of us, twelve in all, traveled safely to Tübingen, in Wirtemberg, where we had to pass through between the French and the Bavarians. In the center were the dragoons. Everybody told us how unsafe it was to travel and that some people had lost everything. We told them that wolves do not bite each other. We were soldiers too, who had swords and pistols. We arrived safely at Schaffhausen.

God be praised for ever! Amen.

---

(10) The Breisgau is now a part of the Grandduchy of Baden, comprising the valley of Freiburg and the southern part of the Black Forest. In the Middle Ages it was one of the largest districts of the Allemanni. The writer ought to have reversed the order of Freiburg and Frankfort, as Freiburg is much nearer the Swiss border than Frankfort.

In conclusion. I report some things which may not be known:

A guinea is 4 English crowns or 18 stueber.

An English crown is 5 shillings.

A shilling is 12 stueber.

A stueber is a little more than half a batzen.

A pound sterling is 4 crowns, a shilling and a half less than a guinea.

Three English miles make an hour.

N. B. I must add that I forgot something at certain places.

Thus I placed New York at the Canadian boundary, while New Jersey and New England are the most extreme [provinces].(11)

Likewise with regard to the diseases, I wish to add that they consist mostly of the negro fever, which often stays with a person for a long time, especially those who live near the ocean shore. Open legs full of sores are to found with most people. The principal cause is the fever, which finds an outlet there. Another cause is because most people work without shoes and stockings in the soil, so that, especially in the new soil, the legs are all swollen and full of white pimples. It seems as if the ground was poisoned by the snakes. Doctors and surgeons are well-to-do and have a large income.

Mechanics are generally scarce and expensive. The best trades, among others, are carpenters, joiners, coopers, ship-builders, masons, smiths, locksmiths, tailors and glassblowers. Skilled workmen are much esteemed and well paid. I have seen a common journeyman paid annually 30 lbs. sterling, including his board. But I have heard of master workmen, who received above a guinea daily. Moreover, a skilful artisan or workman can reach America with little expense, by means of an instruction from Holland to England, issued by the commissioner at Briel, so that neither the passage nor the meals cost anything, because the Queen maintains such mail-boats. In London such an artisan can go to a Virginian captain, none of whom will refuse to take him along, if not for the labor on the ship, at least for the payment promised on landing. For, when such a ship arrives, the inhabitants come in large numbers to buy or hire servants.

---

(11) This correction needs to be corrected again.

Everyone would be willing to pay the passage money. The debtor then belongs to the creditor till he pays it off. The wages are fixed, namely, according to law each workman must pay his master for his board and lodging annually 400 lbs. of tobacco and three barrels of corn. Whatever he can raise above that amount, he can sell, so that within a short time he can pay his passage money. Then he can hire out as a freeman or he can continue to work in the above manner until he has saved something and can himself set up an establishment.

I also forgot to refer to the allspice, which is a certain medicine planted by the Indians and is sold by them. This plant has such strength and properties that it can be used in place of every other spice, as is also implied by the name. There also grows a sort of red shells, like crab's claws, in which seeds are found which are very strong.

There are also a large number of glow-worms [fire-flies], which fly at night through the trees in large numbers, as if they were full of fire and light.

There is another kind of bugs or worms which are very harmful to the finest trees of the forest and cause the destruction of a great many of them.

In conclusion, he who will take the trouble to read this imperfect essay, will find that I have not been diligent to observe order, nor did I make a clean copy, hence it is difficult to read, full of disorder and without orthography. As I was requested to make a short report, I have drawn it up hastily, hoping that if the reader will find some mistakes, he will correct them himself; the rest will be found to be true.



LETTERS REGARDING THE SECOND JOURNEY OF MICHEL TO  
AMERICA, FEBRUARY 14, 1703, TO JANUARY 16,  
1704, AND HIS STAY IN AMERICA TILL 1708.

[After Francis Louis Michel had reached Berne, on December 1, 1702, he started on his second journey to America on February 14, 1703, about which the following letters give us some information. Michel had of course related his experiences in Virginia to his friends in Berne, among whom were John Rudolf Ochs and George Ritter. With them he had conceived the plan of settling a Swiss colony in America. As the next letter shows, negotiations had been begun with William Penn, in order to locate this Swiss colony, if possible, in Pennsylvania].

DIFFERENT LETTERS

which, since the departure of my brother from Berne, on February 14, 1703, have been sent from London and America, addressed to Mr. Ochs(12), his correspondent. The first letter was dated London, May 6'16, 1703.

I ask that you will not take the delay of my letter ill of me. Already in Rotterdam I have had a package ready, in which was enclosed a thorough report, together with a map of Philadelphia, from which detailed information can be gathered, in short it is a complete guide for those who want to travel there. Meanwhile I secured two other [printed] reports, but, since the post in Holland would not accept this except at a very high rate, I found it advisable to retain it until I have received an oral report and confirmation from Mr. William Penn, and can send it together with a complete report through Mr. Gaudot. Thus far I have been unable to secure an audience with him [Penn],

(12) John Rudolf Ochs, son of Samuel Ochs and Esther Koch, was baptized September 2, 1673. He was a seal and stone engraver; went to Pennsylvania in 1705, returned to England and settled in London, where he became a Quaker. He was married to Catharine Lerber, daughter of David Lerber and his wife Catharine Schmaltz, widow of the Rev. Niklaus of Affoltern. She had six children, five sons and a daughter, born 1702-1715. Ochs is the author of a book, entitled "Amerikanischer Wegweiser" i. e., "American Guide," Berne 1711, pp. 102. See *Berner Taschenbuch*, 1898, p. 127f, note.

but I have been requested to appear to-morrow morning.(13) I have handed in a memorial, in which the case has been presented in the best possible form. I am now waiting with eagerness for the outcome. I have made inquiries about that country to my satisfaction and have concluded to leave here with a Pennsylvania ship, which will sail within two months. I regretted that I had to see the fleet leave here for America, 12 days ago, and was not able to go along. But I am much surprised about the process begun here against the above named Governor Penn, which was legally instituted here.(14) I have already gotten some printed tracts, which expose him and his officials in Pennsylvania most severely and shamefully, and in which he and his people are accused of many and disgraceful actions, in the civil government as well as in church matters. Many think the so-called Quakers, together with the Governor, stand in danger of losing the freedom they enjoyed so long. I shall have to give you a sufficient report before my departure from here about one thing or another. Two weeks ago I addressed a letter to Mr. Gaudot, but he informed me yesterday that the mail-boat of the 16th, upon which the letter was, had unfortunately been taken near Harwitz [Harwich]. I herewith desire to send you a few words, otherwise, if I had the necessary time, I would make a longer and more detailed report, hoping that you will pardon the liberty I thus take. I cannot omit to make mention of what has happened on the journey from Holland hither, and how this short trip turned out to be so full of dangers and accidents.

Many must wait ten weeks for a suitable wind, I was compelled to stay three weeks in Rotterdam and Briel. Finally on Sunday the 15th, n. s. [new style] there was such stormy weather that many ships lying before Briel had to go back to Rotterdam, because they were torn from their anchor. Such a drifting ship ran against our ship with such violence that the rear [mizzen]

(13) According to the French Diary of Graffenried (*German American Annals* XII, 166) Penn appointed Michel Director General of all the mines in Pennsylvania. He also made a definite compact with the society which Michel represented. See also S. G. Fisher, *The True William Penn*, p. 380.

(14) About the trials and persecutions of Penn at this time see Fisher, *The True Wm. Penn*, pp. 364-376.

mast was torn down. In the evening we saw the distressed English fleet, consisting of about 80 ships, laden mostly with corn and cloth, being driven by the strong wind back from the sea into the Meuse river. There, 22 ships, which could not reach the mouth of the river, ran in part on the land, others stuck on the sandbanks, some were at once broken to pieces, so that the Meuse, in a few hours, was full of corn and boxes of bread and parts of ships which drifted about. On the 18th, we had some good wind and we sailed with 60 merchantmen, two convoys and a transport, into the sea. On the 20th, in the morning, the fleet from London to Rotterdam met us, about 80 ships in number. But, in the afternoon, when we were ten hours [30 miles] from land, we discovered seven ships, which were carried by the wind towards us and came with full sails. We saw at once that they were French, which alarmed us considerably. Our two convoys sailed ahead of the fleet, to wait for them. Finally they were so near that our ships realized that they were not strong enough for them, because they were four large ships and three privateers. Hence they sailed as best as they could right through the French fleet, all the rest followed. Half of the fleet was cut off.

The front part, in which I was, continued its course to Norwit [Norwich], (15) the rear ran hither and thither. The privateers took eight or ten of them. The warships also met together. They shot very rapidly upon our commander Salisbury. After a considerable battle he surrendered, and also the transport, with 30 pieces of cannon. As the weather was rainy and gloomy we did not see them any longer, but we reached England before night. Thus on this short trip more unpleasant things happened to me than lately on my whole journey. Mr. Gaudot shows me much kindness because of his respect for you and your recommendation. In return I would like to show him corresponding gratitude. He asked me for [certain] stones, for he knew that you had given them to me to take along. However, I did not have full confidence in the matter. As soon as there will be an opportunity I shall send one thing or another through

---

(15) By Norwit the writer evidently meant Norwich (cf. Harwit=Harwich) a city in the county of Norfolk, 98 miles N. N. E. of London.

Mr. Gaudot, as the tobacco mentioned by you. I make every possible preparation for what will contribute to good progress. I buy all kinds of goods which I regard as useful. Meanwhile I shall not forget you, but will make arrangements to receive you there as best I may, the sooner the better. With the next opportunity I shall report more. Commending you to the Divine providence, I remain,

Yours ready for service  
L. Michel.

Now follows the second letter, sent from Arundel County, Maryland, to Mr. Ochs, dated May 20<sup>th</sup> 1704.

Very Worthy Sir and Friend:—

I send you this with my friendly greeting and the hope that you will receive it in good condition as a small token of our unchangeable acquaintance and friendship.

The great distance between us does not hinder us to renew at times our old oneness of mind. Especially, since I entertain the hope that I shall soon be able to receive such a dear friend in my cabin, quickly erected, not indeed according to new fashions, but in the old simplicity. It is not my intention to write at length, although the material is not wanting, because I am still at work to fulfil my promise to send, God willing, next year an elaborate report and guide, of which I have made a good beginning. I do it with the hope that those who are willing or intend to visit this country, for the sake of profit, curiosity or settlement, will not suffer harm. It was not possible in this short time, alongside of my private business and journeys, to investigate everything thoroughly. Besides I am now equipped to undertake a new journey of discovery. I shall, therefore, as briefly as possible, give a summary of what happened to me hitherto, fearing that, if I should pass it by entirely with silence until my undertaking is completed, you would not receive it well, and believe that I had no regard for our agreement.

Regarding the journey from England, I may say that it was very unpleasant, partly because of the inconvenient winter

time. On August 20th of last year, I went on board of the "Hopewell" at Gravesend. Contrary winds kept us at Dunes [Downs], Portsmouth and other places till the beginning of October. On the 4th of that month, we lost sight of the land. For a time we had a great heat and calm, because we were so far south, namely on the 27th degree. We spent a long time making but little progress, until we came farther north, where we had such unusually long drawn-out winds for five weeks, with the exception of a few days, that the ships could not keep company together. Such distressing weather scattered our fleet in such a way that even now ships are still arriving, which, because of lack of water, loss of masts, sickness and other accidents were compelled to seek land at the Bermudas, Barbados, Carolina and other places. More than enough has already been reported about the loss of the ships. The governor of this province was on board of the commander's ship, which arrived here only four weeks ago. We were 100 sails strong, among which were four warships, but several left us and sailed to Guinea. As to our ship, it was one of the best, namely the second to reach land, on January the 16th. Such a long and dangerous passage is unusual. My daily Journal, containing all the details, will follow with the next opportunity.(16) We found such unusual cold here, even five days ago, as I have never experienced. Most of the rivers were frozen and hence I had to postpone my trip to Pennsylvania till spring and had to take a house. As my long stay in Holland and England gave me an opportunity to buy all kinds of necessities of life, the inhabitants soon learned of it. Besides, European goods and wares are very expensive in war times, but especially this year. They compelled me almost to exhibit them. Contrary to expectation they were taken with a rush and with good profit, and the statement was made that so many useful things had never been seen here before. What kind of goods should be brought here and what other things are necessary, will be reported as stated above.

---

(16) This Journal of Michel has not been preserved. At least it is not in the city library of Berne.

After I had sold most of my wares, I traveled with the rest to Pennsylvania, about 60 hours [180 miles] distant from here. With the exception of 8 English miles it is possible to go there by water. After my arrival I sold the rest of my merchandise even more advantageously than in Maryland. Nothing is sold under 50 per cent profit, most goods bring more than 100 per cent. How easily, then, can one, who knows business here, make money!

Philadelphia is a city twenty-two years old, whose growth and fame is to be preferred to most English-American cities. I was astonished to see the difference, compared with other cities of this country, with regard to her size, splendid edifices, daily construction of new houses and ships, the regularity of the streets, the abundance of provisions, at a much cheaper price than in the neighboring cities. But the strongest reason, why there is such an influx of people from other provinces is partly due to the liberty which all strangers enjoy in commerce, belief and settlement, as each one understands it, and also because the money has 50 per cent more value. Six miles from there lies a large village, a mile long, named Germantown, where almost all the inhabitants are Germans. A Frankfort company bought 30,000 acres of land with this object, that, when they and their people should be compelled through war, religion or other accidents to leave their homes and country, they might there find a certain and secure dwelling place.

Among other acquaintances I met there the prefect Matheys of Heimbhausen<sup>(17)</sup> and the sons of the gunsmith Bondeli,<sup>(18)</sup> who

(17) According to information, kindly furnished by Prof. von Mülinen, the full name of this man was Hans Conrad Matthey, who from 1674-1680 was bailiff of Wangen. He owned an estate at Heim(en) hausen, not far from Berne, which his son-in-law, Hans Jacob Lerber, inherited in 1703. With this information at hand, it is possible to identify this man. He is the well known Conrad Matthaei, the last leader of the Hermits on the Wissahickon. They had erected a Monastery on the Ridge now within the city limits of Philadelphia. Matthaei himself lived as a recluse in a rude hut till his death in August 1748. See Sachse, *German Pietis of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, pp. 388-401.

(18) Prof. von Mülinen gives the following information about the family of the gunsmith Bondeli (or Bundeli): "John Bundeli was bailiff of Aarwangen, his son Abraham B., a gunsmith, born 1617; his son, David, B, a gunsmith, who lived about 1680, married to Elisa Dick. They had a son who died in Pennsylvania." It is the last to whom Michel refers in his letter.

arrived here some time ago from New England. As they have been rather inexperienced in their undertaking, they have had but little profit thus far, but they entertain, nevertheless, good hope and they have brought their newly-bought farm of 100 acres (which they bought for the sum of 20 doubloons) into fairly good condition. I found the place very convenient, partly because it is so near to the city, partly because it is just like living in Germany. Three large tracts of land of equal size, were for sale for a small sum, adjoining each other. I found this place so convenient, that I fixed my designs on it, awaiting a better opportunity, with the purpose of living in the neighborhood of the aforesaid estates. The reason why I have gone to Maryland is to collect my outstanding debts completely. But especially because of my journey, which is about to begin to the rather unknown western regions, of which the Indians here have wonders to tell, on account of their high mountains, warm waters, rich minerals, fruitful lands, large streams and abundance of game which is found there. To that end I associated myself with eight well experienced Englishmen and four Indians, taking along eight horses, two of which are to carry skins at my own expense. Although we are taking provisions for only six days, we do not expect to return before four weeks. The game is so abundant that daily more can be caught than we can use. Some of the company, including myself, have the intention to take up land, if it is feasible, some go to hunt, some to discover mines, I for my part to satisfy my old curiosity, to seek out unknown things and to collect the wonders of nature, as I have already a large number of pieces, which cannot be examined without astonishment. Last evening I shot two ragun [raccoons] on a tree. I have also a live bossoon [opossum]. It carries its young in an open pocket, which it opens and closes at will.

I am altogether of the opinion that the government [of Berne] as well as private persons will most of them in time get a better knowledge of this country. How praiseworthy and easy would it be to send out a colony like other nations, which would be a greater glory and praise for our country than to send a large number, for the sake of money, to slaughter in battle. We think that it is an honor. Other nations, however, speak of it

differently. What else can be the intention of Hollanders, Swedes, Finns, Germans and other nations, which send people to this country, than to make use of such places in case of necessity. I have already had opportunity to remark sufficiently, how willingly the English government would consent to this. Who has more reason to look for expansion and places of retreat than our country? I cannot think otherwise than that the government acts culpably in not assisting in this matter with word and deed the many empty hands and hungry mouths. It would be easy to present a memorial to the English crown, the answer would soon show whether it is feasible or not. It is a great pity that such a large country, suitable for all kinds of fruits, remains unsettled. But it is necessary that people should not be deceived by some who came to this country, not knowing why they came and who had empty and lazy hands. Such people are an injury and obstacle to many others. But how do those get along, of whom a considerable number are to be found here, who not only bring nothing into the country, but are even bound out for a certain time to serve, and yet in a few years acquire more than would be possible to do in the best countries?

There is absolutely no hunger among the people, but the cattle suffered much want this spring, yet only among those who owned too large a number of them, and who had no sufficient supply of fodder for the long winter. One man who owned 103 heads of cattle lost 102 heads, the last he gave away for nothing.

I must close, commending it to your discretion to do in this matter as your sound judgment will decide. I ask you to assure Messrs. Gaudard, Ritter, Noblemen von Graviset and the other good friends and acquaintances of my respect and willingness to serve. I intended to write a number of letters, but the near departure of the ships and my own journey prevented me. In future I shall have more material to write. I am at a very inconvenient place, regarding paper and ink, which I secured with difficulty. (The ink was made altogether of gun powder). I hope to receive a letter from you during the next spring sent to the enclosed address. Meanwhile I assure My Lord of my service and friendship and remain,

Yours ready for service,

L. Michel.



[In this letter the thought of sending a Swiss colony to America is clearly expressed. Michel also mentions for the first time George Ritter, a councillor of the city of Berne. The latter proceeded to carry out the suggestion of Michel and undertook to organize a Swiss colony for America. On March 19, 1705, he submitted the following petition to the Council of Berne]:

Respectful Petition to the Mayor and Council, made by George Ritter, Druggist, of Berne:—

Your Lordship's obedient citizen, George Ritter(19), druggist, begs to submit herewith in all humility that he plans to transport himself with a colony of four to five hundred persons from here to Pennsylvania, in America, under the English crown and to settle there, if it will be acceptable to and please her Royal Majesty in England to concede and grant most graciously to him and to his companions the enclosed articles of agreement. Now, in order that your petitioner and his companions may all the more surely and certainly gain their intended purpose, he requests your Lordships in his and in all his associates' name that you will be pleased to grant them graciously not only the necessary permission of the government, but also aid them that the enclosed articles, proposed by them (which we meanwhile submit to your most wise correction and approval), will be sent to the English envoy, now residing in the Cantons, to transmit them to his government; and that at the same time they may be accompanied with your strong and weighty recommendation, so that we may all the better secure their acceptance. For this favor, granted by you, your petitioner and his associates will implore the Highest, that your noble Lordships in all your blessed undertakings may continue to flourish forever.

[This petition was accompanied by the following proposals, written in French, which Mr. Ritter sent to the Marquis Du Quesnes at Geneva. The proposals, translated into English, read as follows]:

---

(19) George Ritter, son of Jacob Ritter and Magdalena Gouttes, was baptized August 8, 1667. He was a druggist by profession. He is said to have been twice in America. He was married to Elizabeth Gaudard, daughter of Commissioner Samuel Gaudard. He died without issue. See *Berner Taschenbuch*, 1898, p. 138.

## TO THE QUEEN.

George Ritter, citizen of the city of Berne, submits with profound respect, which is due to your Majesty, that the Noble Francis Louis Michel, citizen of the said city, having settled at a favorable opportunity in Pennsylvania, has induced your petitioner to solicit a number of persons of the laudable Canton of Berne, to go and settle near him in America, and having a desire for this, after having obtained the permission of the noble Lordships of the laudable Canton; said Ritter has been charged, in the name of all, to entreat most humbly your Majesty to give your consent to the establishment which is proposed to be made of a Swiss colony and which is intended to be formed, in order to settle some land located either in Pennsylvania or on the frontiers of Virginia, with the Divine assistance and the royal and powerful protection of your Majesty. This colony may number at first from four to five hundred Swiss persons, Reformed Protestants, as many merchants and manufacturers as agriculturists. In whose behalf the said Ritter, who acts for them, petitions your Majesty most humbly to grant them, if it is your pleasure,

## THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

1. That they be treated and regarded as the true subjects of your Majesty.
2. That to this colony be granted a district of land, well situated as regards climate, soil and water; near some river, navigable for commerce.
3. That to each person be given 100 acres of land in the said settlement, which shall be named Berne.
4. That materials for building be conveyed to the place which will be convenient.
5. That there be full liberty to trade, as the natives of the country, as well as other subjects of your Majesty have.
6. That they be exempted from all taxes during the first six years of their settlement, after that, that they shall pay them as the other subjects of your Majesty.

7. That they shall have liberty to choose ministers of the Gospel, officers of justice and the police, at all times under the direction of the Governor, whom your Majesty will have appointed in that country.

8. That, after having prayed publicly for your Majesty, they be permitted to pray also for their noble Lordships of the Republic of Berne, who have the honor to be allied with your Majesty.

9. That the same favors and privileges will be accorded later also to all those who in future will come from Switzerland, to enlarge their colony, notably those from the Canton of Berne.

10. And as this colony will not be able to pay the expenses of their voyage to America, your Majesty is most humbly petitioned to have the goodness to give orders that said colony be conducted thither with every possible safety, in such a way that it may embark at Rotterdam in Holland and that it be transported, at the expense of your Majesty, to the place appointed for their settlement. To that end, said Ritter, being advised in time, will betake himself, with the help of God, with said colony to Rotterdam, at the time which shall be appointed for him.

Meanwhile said Ritter and his associates pray God most fervently for the happy and long preservation of the sacred person of your Majesty, for the prosperity of your flourishing kingdoms and for the glory of your victorious arms.

[These proposals were examined by Du Quesne, corrected by him in some unessential details and sent back to Berne. Then a "clean copy" was made of them, which was sent to England to be submitted to the Councillors of the Queen.

The Council of Berne addressed Mr. William Agliomby, the English envoy at Zurich, on March 19, 1705. His answer was received on April 3, 1705. There is also preserved a letter of Agliomby, dated London, September 11, 1705; further a memoir, presented to the English envoy, Mr. Stanian, dated August 25, 1706, a letter addressed to Mr. George Ritter, merchant at Berne from Wrest in Bedfordshire, dated March 15, 1707. The writer, Mr. Gaudot, mentions in it Mr. Oks. Finally in a letter

of George Ritter to Mr. Stanian, the suggestion is made that, if Parliament be unwilling to naturalize the whole colony, the directors of the colony, namely Francis Louis Michel, John Rudolf Ochs and George Ritter, be naturalized. This letter is followed in the original Ms. by another plan of an agreement without date and signature, addressed to the English government, in which a petition is made to appoint a commission. This petition may have led to the instruction or commission referred to in the following letter of Mr. Michel to George Ritter:]

To Mr. George Ritter, Merchant at Berne.

Virginia, the 24th of September 1708.

This present letter is only to advise you that I have carried out satisfactorily the commission which was given to me by our gentlemen at Berne, and whereas, I have not had any payment from you since I have arrived in America, I have drawn on you to-day for two hundred pounds sterling, payable to the order of Mr. Jean Monbeaux in London, to whom I pray you to do me the honor of referring me upon my arrival in London<sup>(20)</sup>, in order to inform you of all my progress. Awaiting yours I am

Luys Michel.

[A further report of Mr. Michel to George Ritter is dated America, December 14—25, 1708, of which the following summary has been preserved:]

A Report of Mr. Michel from America, dated December 14—25, 1708, to Mr. George Ritter, merchant in Berne, in which, in addition to the publications already sent over, others are transmitted. He urges that the business of the colony be conducted with zeal now, when the most favorable moment has come and many members of the government and of parliament are at Court, during the winter season. He makes the suggestion that the articles of agreement, formerly drawn up, be not presented, but that properly qualified commissioners

---

<sup>(20)</sup> This sentence shows that Michel intended to return to England, which intention he carried out in the year 1708.

be sent and that full authority be given them to carry on the negotiations personally and to remove every obstacle as may be found necessary, for plans may be sent from a distance, but they cannot be carried out at a distance as well as near at hand. He then mentions, in connection with other statements, that Mr. Robert Collie [Callie] of Aldermay Church Yard, himself as well as other distinguished friends and acquaintances, was not a little inclined to promote the project. He advises that he [Ritter] send him a letter, outlining the project, since he could, without doubt, accomplish much, and that in future letters be sent to him [Michel] through this patron instead of through Monsieur Mondant, whose large business was already causing him a heavy correspondence.

[The story of Michel is continued in the Journals of Christopher Graffenried, of which the original German and French texts<sup>(21)</sup> were recently published by Prof. Faust of Cornell University in the "German American Annals," Vol. XI, (1913), pp. 210-312 (German text); and Vol. XII (1914) pp. 64-190 (French text). According to the German version of Graffenried's journal, Michel returned to Berne in 1708, where he met Graffenried, to whom he related with evident enthusiasm his American experiences. Graffenried states with regard to this interview: "Of late I received a more accurate report of the American countries from a citizen of this city, who had been in America for five or six years. He informed me what a glorious country it is, how cheap, what liberty, what large growth, good business, rich mines and other good things it has. He told me especially what beautiful silver mines he has found and dis-

(21) Four copies of the journals of Graffenried, describing the founding of New Berne, are in existence. The first, in French, is in the public library of Yverdon, Switzerland. A literal English translation appeared in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. I (1886), pp. 905-985. The second, in German, is in the possession of Prof. W. F. von Mülinen, city librarian of Berne. The German text was published by Prof. Faust. The third, in French, the most complete of all, in the handwriting of Graffenried himself, is also in the possession of Prof. von Mülinen of Berne. It was also published by Prof. Faust. The fourth, in French, is a copy of a letter, written by Graffenried on January 4, 1712, to Governor Hyde of North Carolina. It includes also the copy of a treaty made between Graffenried and the Tuscarora Indians in October 1711, and the copy of a letter written by Governor Spotswood, on October 8, 1711, to the Indians, who held Graffenried captive.

covered." As Graffenried was deep in debt and saw no opportunity to improve his condition in Switzerland, the prospect of opening up silver mines seemed to him exceedingly attractive. It is, therefore, not surprizing that he accepted "the beautiful propositions of the above-named citizen." As later events clearly showed, these propositions were to the effect that Graffenried should conduct a Swiss colony to the banks of the Potomac river, where Michel claimed to have taken up land. A map, drawn by Graffenried, is still in existence, which illustrates this colonization scheme. Two settlements were contemplated along the Potomac, one below the falls of the Potomac, in the triangle formed by the Potomac and the Gold Creek. The other settlement was to be near the Indian village Canavest, along the upper banks of the Potomac river(22). Moreover, a correspondence was begun with German miners, and, on the way back to Holland, Michel had an interview with the head-miner, who was authorized to procure all the necessary tools and implements for mining. To carry out this scheme Graffenried left Switzerland in 1708, and went to England. There he met influential friends who encouraged him in his colonization scheme. Two events happened about this time which turned the enterprize into a different direction. A Swiss colonization society, a stock company, called Ritter & Co., had been formed, which Graffenried was persuaded to join and to which the proprietaries of Carolina made very favorable offers(23), in order

(22) See the French Diary of Graffenried in *German American Annals*, Vol. XII, p. 166.

(23) Graffenried concludes the third of the Journals, mentioned in the last note, with the following sentence: "It is true, that, besides the beautiful promises of [Surveyor General] Lawson, the beautiful promises of the Lord Proprietors [of North Carolina] were the cause which induced us to establish the colony first of all in North Carolina." In 1708 Lawson was in England, where he met Michel. He refers to him in his History: "My ingenious friend, Mr. Francis Louis Mitchell, of Bern in Switzerland, has been for several years, very indefatigable and strict in his discoveries amongst those vast ledges of mountains and spacious tracts of land, lying towards the heads of the great bays and rivers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, where he has discovered a spacious country inhabited by none but the savages, and not many of them, who yet are of a very friendly nature to the Christians. This gentleman has been employed by the Canton of Bern to find out a tract of land in the English America, where that republic might settle some of their people, which proposal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a conclusion between her Majesty of Great Britain and that canton, which must needs be of great advantage to both." See Lawson, *History of Carolina*, ed. Raleigh 1860, p. 334.



to induce the Swiss colonists to settle in Carolina. About this same time, in the spring of 1709, a large immigration of Germans into England took place, variously estimated from 10,000-15,000. Of these Graffenried was permitted to select 600 persons, to which later 50 more were added. These were sent to North Carolina, where they were settled at the confluence of the Trent and Neuse rivers, and the settlement was called New Berne. (24) Graffenried and Michel were not with this first colony. They came with the second contingent, consisting of about 120 Swiss emigrants, who left England in July 1710 and reached Carolina in September of that year. The mining scheme of Michel and Graffenried never materialized, but the miners whom they engaged actually came to Virginia in the spring of 1714 and were settled by Governor Spotwood, at Germanna, to work the Governor's iron mine there.]

#### Additions and Corrections.

Page 30, note 49. For the proposed identification of Col. Bornn with Col. Wm. Byrd, the following passage of Beverly's History may be quoted: "This gentleman has for a long time been extremely respected, and fear'd by all the Indians round about, who without knowing the name of any Governor, have ever been kept in order by him." Beverly, *History*, 1705, III, 36.

Page 37, l. 30. In connection with the four kinds of squirrels mentioned by Michel, it may be noted that Lawson, in his *History of Carolina*, ed. 1860, p. 204, mentions also four kinds: fox squirrels, English squirrels, ground squirrels and flying squirrels.

Page 122, note 13. Of Beverly's *History of Virginia*, the edition of 1705 has been used throughout, not 1725, as given by mistake.

Page 122, note 14. Read Aargau instead of Aargan.

Page 126, l. 22, read cavalry instead of calvary.

Page 138, note 42, read Orvieton instead of Orvicton and Orvieto instead of Orvicto.

L. 140, note 44, read trypanosoma instead of tryfonosonia.

(24) For the history of the New Nerne Colony see Prof. von Mülinen's authoritative account, based entirely on Mss. sources: *Christoph von Graffenried; Landgraf von Carolina, Gründer von Neu-Bern*, Born 1896. Based on it is Prof. Vincent H. Todd's monograph *Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, N. C.*, published in Vol. XII (1912) pp. 1-123 of the yearbook of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois.